342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[35]

342 554 622 [184 541] A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 262 The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; [825] it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats (čə´mčəm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[36]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chumut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her [184] people with a circumstantial story,[37] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[35] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[36] Ibid., 33.

[37] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 73-74.

821 Earthquakes (ye'lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u'lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

●622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti'ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Hu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepʻs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepʻs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watamat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyʻt.

624 202 The official messenger (wina´tom) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatom and a´ñutun winatom. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem. [616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammil], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

[293] A chief's messenger, when going on an official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´·i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t·ts, a term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem,
786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet·ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet·s should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w·ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

● 622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquín Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter
622 succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiw(s), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[776] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[4] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[4] Powers, 371.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 296]

616 622 A village was not necessarily ruled by two chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

E776 787] Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti (south) upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 46 b] Paleuyami

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´watsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi´yat, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

[77 657]

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´'an (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 838] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´č:m) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, 767 while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other- 764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was W.li´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Pages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Pages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Pages attrib-
● 622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 506] Tulamni

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

524 Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
525 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

526 The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

202 Signals.--Pages states that during all-night cel[illegible]ations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[124]

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humta´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi![140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohot were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
621 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141] It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837] [139]While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140]Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141]In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

513 [P. 60b]

states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just be-
[788] fore sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called Xuhuwa'da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[325] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 323 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[326] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.---"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti'ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[325] Handbook, 538.

[326] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or 825 lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod 622 society. The falcon (li·'mi·k), "wolf" (iwe'yi·t, the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehe·'ši·t) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly 202] the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S-G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

622 A particular and constant source of fi-
624 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

622 Informants like to refer to the chief's
556 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 95b]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[437] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ɨt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Back-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1486] Choinimni

524 Women's dice game.---This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.---The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.---A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.---This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Watoˊki, and the Nutuwich chief was Aˊhač. Following on Watoki came Guˊjam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Tokuˊyan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahačˌn wˌnatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´ˀi. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

[611] [211]

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1539] DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 131 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɨt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɨ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

[622]

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɨn and Salo´knɨč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 361 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi·). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´·osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped
[354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was con-
[574] sidered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construc-
[481] tion of their house, the man looking after the framework, the woman after the thatch. Men
542 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of
[586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

386 Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar-
● 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 163 b] Kechayi

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 [361] The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house 622 given a special location. He "was the richest 556 man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief 622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell 554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by 622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by 527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating [616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

622 The position of chief passed from brother to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s [551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo ´k‹t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk: ´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate ´'‹č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate'‹č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] "party," the yate'‹č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko ´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki ´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum [illegible] function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if [illegible] were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were 616 given voluntarily in response to a general 825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to ´x‹l: eagle	po ´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu ´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya ´y‹l: falcon[58]
upla ´li: dove	ho ´its: buzzard
a ´luwut: crow	hi ´hi· ´na: horned owl
ho ´toi: raven[59]	·so· ´tot: white owl
u ´i ´ui: roadrunner	'o č'oč: magpie
wa ´twat: duck	hu ´mnul: quail
bučo ´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai ''ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a ´luwut.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people
825 thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

● 622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group [621] to the south. The Chukchansi communities were small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

W
Y
823
192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W
Y
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Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

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Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

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Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puš'l:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

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The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

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The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP.230 bJ Western Mono NS 25
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and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa'o'ič (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto'bič (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si'wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ik, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo'tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu'ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa'nuk to his son Čo'o'po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča'muč, then Wa'kit, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala'ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hel'čap, was selected. When Helčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

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The secondary chiefs (tuye'yi, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletite*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[6] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[6] See genealogies, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teecac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakaachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to.

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory.

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps.

> Kazti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wñi hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down,
[778] and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[28]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[155] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[28] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 439 556

he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

622 756 541 574 [431]

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'itc, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'itc had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 756 541 574 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

622 556 574 Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 541 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance.

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Noncontributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section.

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result.

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsmumi, the other two at

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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five [614] different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if 622 623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 769 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Meriean Joe, George Diek, interpreter; see Appendix.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear pens on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 [755] [782] The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

● 622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[84] 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [23]

[84] See anecdote, p. 394. [85] Informant George Dick.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

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[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40]

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The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinso, and told what had happened.

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoat) sent out winatums to bring them in.

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The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.

[42] Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

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On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

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In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

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[43] Sam Osborn. - Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

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a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyuc) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[88] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[89]

[88] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[89] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their
[683] chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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[60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets ahtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
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> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[62] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[62] See anecdote, p. 397.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows.

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion.

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He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

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The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time.

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To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred.

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	somloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mlnimon	kiolin	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yomina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[88] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo:

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1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyĕtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch!). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[88] See anecdote, p. 396.

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622 754 The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather headdress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775] 6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him ṭoṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutai'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622 The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore rancheria. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs.

Wasapël (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore rancherία. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism.

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laotcu'i, and Hamatc, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 592 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechisero*). In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

621 But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested. 622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In 621 this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in 624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the 621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and 622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded 622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

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and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tĕss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuta moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuta moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Eth., x, 189, 1912.

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They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiʼya] had returned from the fiesta at Chiuchas which Josaps had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives†], I could not go on to the rancheria, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto rancheria. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.† I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Rancheria of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their rancheria is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya†*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

† This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

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tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of *Thursday, 11.*—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaija. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of *Saturday, 13.*—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justification for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martín in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martín in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone' . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta [648] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the ● [622] rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

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THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be 101 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the 131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*161 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of [628] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six [361] villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

[361] From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.